

Message Text

SECRET

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NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MOYNIHAN

1. I SEE I MUST PROTECT YOU FROM BAD HABITS. EVEN, CONCEIVABLY, FAULTY KNOWLEDGE. UNDER OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, AMBASSADORS ADDRESS THE SECRETARY. THE SECRETARY ADDRESSES THE PRESIDENT. HOWEVER, IN THE LIGHT OF TWO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS I WOULD VERY MUCH HOPE THE DECISION COULD BE RECONSIDERED.

2. JUST AS YOUR CABLE ARRIVED, WE RECEIVED INFORMATION (WHICH I AM SENDING BY SEPARATE CHANNEL) WHICH CONFIRMS THE JUDGMENT WE HAD ALREADY REACHED THAT THE SOUTH KOREANS HERE FEEL IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO LINK THE APPLICATIONS, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE PROBABLY NOT DARED TO REPORT THIS AT HOME. IN THIS JUDGMENT, AN AMERICAN VETO OF THE VIETNAMS WOULD AROUSE SUCH GENERAL ANTAGONISM TO US THAT OUR RESOLUTION CALLING FOR AN ORDERLY SUCCESSION IN COMMAND IN KOREA WOULD BE DEFEATED AT THE COMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY. FURTHER, A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS WOULD PASS. (A SIMILAR RESOLUTION AT THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY FAILED BY A TIE VOTE.) NO MATTER WHAT WE DO SOUTH KOREA HAS NO CHANCE OF GETTING INTO THE UNITED NATIONS.. BUT THERE IS

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A CHANCE THAT WE CAN PASS THE RESOLUTION SOUTH KOREA

WANTS AND EVEN THAT WE CAN DEFEAT THE RESOLUTION NORTH
KOREA WANTS. THIS CHANCE, IN THIS VIEW, WOULD BE LOST
IF WE VETO THE VIETNAMS.

3. WE HAVE ALSO JUST LEARNED THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY HAS DECLINED TO CALL FOR THE SUSPENSION
OR EXPULSION OF ISRAEL. THIS IS IMMENSELY HEARTENING.
AS YOU WOULD ASSUME, I FEAR THAT IN THE AFTERMATH OF
SUSPENSION WE WOULD BE FORCED BY CONGRESS TO ACT IN WAYS
NOT AT ALL IN OUR INTEREST, LEAVING THE UNITED NATIONS
EVEN MORE IN THE HANDS OF OUR ENEMIES. THEREFORE, QUITE
APART FROM MIDDLE EAST CONCERNS, I FEAR THE SUSPENSION
OF ISRAEL. THE EVENT IN KAMPALA IS THE FIRST GOOD NEWS
ON THIS SCORE WE HAVE HAD IN SOME TIME. AGAIN, I WOULD
DEPLORE ANY MOVE BY US THAT WOULD MAKE US LOOK LIKE THE
IMPLACABLE OPPONENT OF SMALL REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST
REGIMES.

4. FINALLY, A FUZZY POINT. I JUST FEEL, AND SO DO MY
ASSOCIATES, THAT NOTHING WOULD DELIGHT THE RUSSIANS AND
THE CHINESE MORE THAN FOR US TO VETO THE VIETNAMS. I
HATE TO GIVE THEM THE SATISFACTION. ALSO, I WONDER AT THE WIS-
DOM OF LETTING SEOUL ACT AS IT DOES BECAUSE (IF SUCH BE
THE CASE) OPINION AND FACTS NO LONGER MOVE FREELY TO
THE TOP OF THAT REGIME.

5. YOU CAN TELL THE PRESIDENT THAT IF WE CAN REVERSE OUR
FIELD AND FIX IT SO IT IS THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE WHO DO
THE VETOING, THEY WILL NEVER HEAR THE END OF IT FROM ME.
WARM REGARDS.
PAT MOYNIHAN

MOYNIHAN

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